

LECH MAREK, DANIEL WOJTUCKI

THE GOEDENDAG, A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY WEAPON
OF THE FLEMISH INFANTRY IN SILESIA¹

During the conflict between King Edward I and the Iron King – Philip IV the Fair, the Flemish went to war on the English side. Consequently, Guy of Dampierre was taken prisoner and a large invasion army was left by the French ruler in the territory of his previous military activity. Any attempts at interference in the internal affairs of Flanders, particularly the presence of foreign forces commanded by Deputy J. de St Pol, were considered by free Flemish cities as a violation of their political rights and a threat to their independence. The growing disapproval of the French authorities, which became especially evident when new taxes were levied on Flemish people², made Philip IV the Fair enter into negotiations with city representatives in Brugge, the most radical centre of resistance, on May 17, 1302.

On entering the city, the French forces began to repress and persecute the inhabitants. The grave news reached the Flemish rebels staying outside the city walls. On May 18, just before dawn, when most of the enemy army were fast asleep, the Flemish attacked the enemy killing about 300 French soldiers³. Every person who failed to pronounce the expression ‘Schilt en Vriendt!’ properly was mercilessly slaughtered⁴. This incident constituted a prelude to an armed conflict, which ended in a shattering defeat of the French knight-

hood at the walls of Courtrai Castle on July 11, 1302. French Commander Count Robert D’Artois himself begged for mercy in vain and was killed.

The news of the first glorious victory won by the Flemish army, which was mostly composed of plebeian infantrymen, over the experienced and well-trained knights⁵ quickly spread across contemporary Europe. The number of knights fighting on the Flemish side is estimated at 500. Those warriors, however, were dismounted and joined the ranks of common foot soldiers⁶. The encounter was called the Battle of the Golden Spurs, because the wounded French soldiers ruthlessly maimed and killed by the Flemish, were robbed of their tournament trophies – the golden spurs. The victors collected a large number of such items from the battlefield.

There are numerous reliable historical records providing information about the Flemish-French wars, including the poem *Branche des royaux lignages* composed by Guillaume Guiart, who served in the army led by Philip IV the Fair as a cross-bowman and fought in the Battle of Mons en Pevéle in 1304 himself⁷. It is also known that the last meal eaten by the Flemish before the combat consisted of fish, eggs, sorrel and mustard⁸.

From the student’s of arms point of view, the archaeological finds, weapons and pieces of art related to the battle, are of paramount importance. The so-called Oxford chest made of oak wood is probably the most famous example of this sort of evidence⁹.

¹ The present paper is a part of L. Marek’s doctoral thesis with the title *Broń biała piechoty na Śląsku od XIV. do XVI wieku (Infantry Side Arms in Silesia from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*; D. Wojtucki is the author of numerous important contributions to this paper, particularly the section dealing with stone crosses, and to the discussion of some of the historical records.

² B. Zientara, *Świt narodów europejskich (The Dawn of the European Nations)*, Warszawa 1985, p. 325.

³ K. de Vries, *Infantry Warfare in the Fourteenth Century*, Woodbridge 2000, p. 9.

⁴ B. Zientara, *op. cit.*, 1985, p. 326.

⁵ J. Wimmer, *Historia piechoty polskiej do roku 1864 (A History of the Polish Infantry to 1864)*, Warszawa 1978, p. 32.

⁶ K. de Vries, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

⁸ Ch. Ffoulkes, *A Carved Flemish Chest at New College, Oxford*, *Archeologia*, 1914, vol. 65, p. 116.

⁹ E. Oakeshott, *European Weapons and Armour*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2000, p. 56.



Fig. 1. Carved panels of the so-called Oxford chest depicting the Battle of Courtrai, first quarter of the fourteenth century (after Ffoulks 1914)

Scenes representing the events preceding the battle, the bloody massacre of Brugge included, the encounter itself and maiming the wounded as well as mutilating the corpses are carefully carved on the front panel of the container. A number of details suggest that the artist was of Flemish descent and that the images on the front panel of the chest were carved soon after the actual events (Fig. 1). The craftsman might have been a member of the carpenter guild, because the banner of this guild is a prominent feature in the sculpted reliefs¹⁰. Some of the shields carried by the warriors on horseback, most probably the French, are emblazoned with simple symbols, circles and St Andrew's crosses, which may not be assigned to any of the commanders or knights taking part in the battle on the French side. These decorations may be attributed to the sculptor's *licencia artistica*. The artist was familiar with and could faithfully render only the signs establishing the identity of the Flemish guild members and the armorial bearing of the more prominent commanders of his own army¹¹. The scene showing the inhabitants of Ypres with patriarchal crosses on their cats secu-

ring the passage of the Flemish forces with patriarchal crosses on their coats towards Courtrai Castle is evidence of the artist's sound knowledge of the events¹². The battle array depicted in the reliefs is confirmed by a contemporary chronicler, Lodewijk van Velthem, whose work provides further information, for example, about the colour of garments worn by the inhabitants of Brugge involved in the fighting. They were dressed in blue and green or brown and yellow gambesons while the members of the archery guild were all in red¹³. However, the success of the Flemish in the war with the French knights was not only a result of the perfect organization, excellent command, high morale and tactical advantage of their army¹⁴.

The kind of weapon used also played a major role in the victory. The relief visible on the panel of the Oxford chest depicts warriors armed with crossbows, swords, falchions, bucklers and weapons resembling baseball bat terminated by a single spike¹⁵.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 125.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 122-123.

¹⁴ The Flemish arrived in Courtrai on June 26th and erected a system of earthen obstacles meant to weaken the impact of the attacking cavalry thus adopting a defensive tactic.

¹⁵ Ch. Ffoulkes, *op. cit.* p. 124.

¹⁰ Ch. Ffoulkes, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 118.

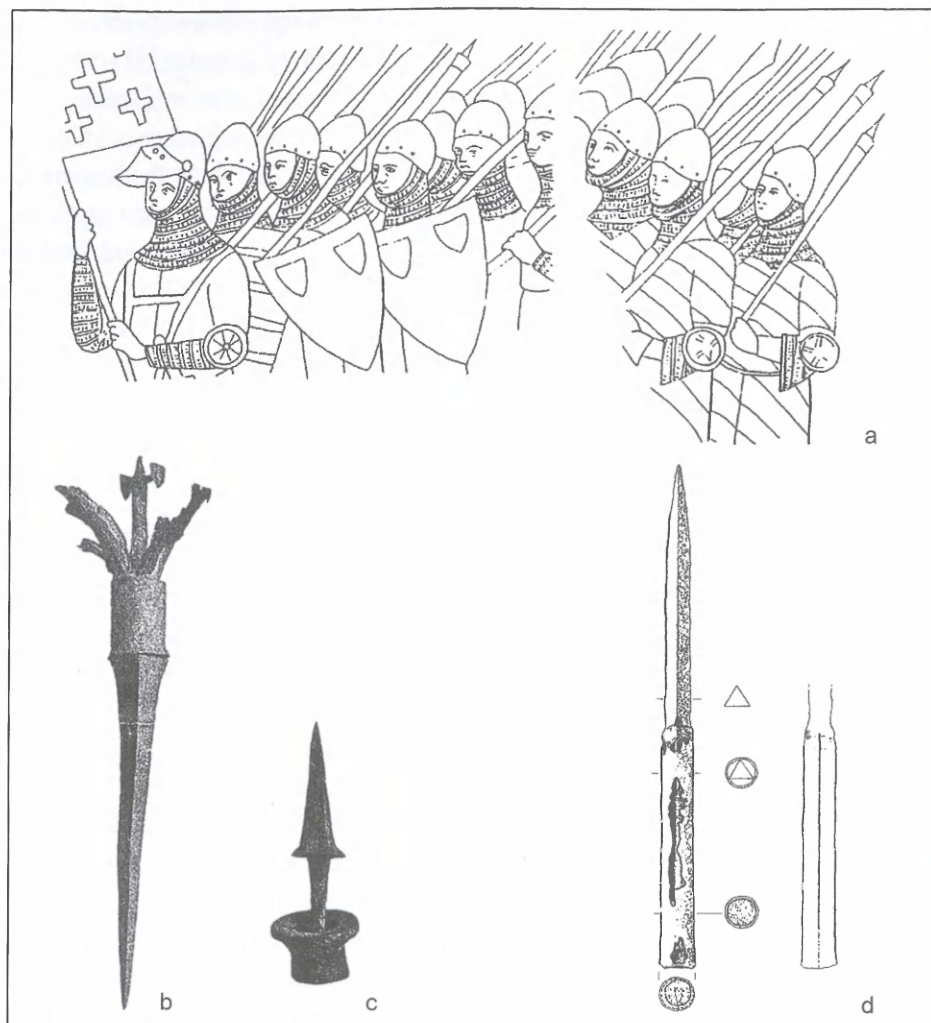


Fig. 2. Goedendags: a — wall paintings in the former St John's hospital in Ghent, mid-fourteenth century (after Nicolle 1999a); b, c — archeological finds from Termonde, Belgium (after Moens 1900); d — find from Hammerberg, near Dillenburg-Niederscheld, Kr Lahn-Dill, Hessen (after Striffler 1998).

Moreover, there were few soldiers armed with crossbows or warriors on horseback in the Flemish army and very few men were equipped with body armour¹⁶.

The most popular type of Flemish weapon of local provenance was the so-called *goedendag*, whose name literally means *Good morning*. Some scholars stress that the term may also be a derivative of *goden dag*, meaning *good blade* and denoting a dagger.

Discussions among nineteenth-century Belgian researchers about the type of weapon really used in the battle brought about confusion in the scientific literature. As a consequence, a lot of mistakes were made and subsequently copied by other authors. The first known iconographic representation of this original weapon, looking like a large

wooden club with a massive square spike and a strengthening ferrule hoop on the end, was discovered in 1846 by Felix de la Vigne, an antiquarian, (Fig. 2:a) on the wall painting in the former St John's Hospital in Ghent¹⁷. Besides the aforementioned arms, the soldiers of St Sebastian's guild depicted in these frescoes of 1337–1338¹⁸ or 1346¹⁹ are carrying spears. The discoverer of the paintings assumed that the spiked weapon equipped with a ferrule was the ancient *goedendag*. He did not, however, quote any records supporting his hypothesis, which was later pointed out by other researchers, questioning its correctness²⁰.

¹⁷ Ch. Foulkes, *op. cit.* p. 121.

¹⁸ J-Th. Raadt, *Étude critique* [in:] *Nouveau catalogue le muse de la Porte de Hal á Bruxelles*, 1897, p. 32.

¹⁹ D. Nicole, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, Western Europe and Crusader States*, London, p. 200.

²⁰ J-Th. Raadt, *op. cit.* p. 32.

¹⁶ K. de Vries, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

According to J. van Malderghem²¹, the *goedendag* is a plowshare-like blade attached on a long shaft. J-Th. Raadt²², who is in favour of this interpretation, stresses that such terms as *gepinde staven* and *plançon à picot*, literally meaning a spiked club or mace, are to be found in both French and Flemish records dating to the fourteenth century²³. In addition, the researcher quotes an extract from Froissart's chronicle containing an account of the siege of Valenciennes by the duke of Normandy, where the Flemish were armed with either *plançons* or *goudendars*²⁴. The same source is cited by Ch. Buttin²⁵, who is of the opinion that there was a fundamental difference between the two types of weapon. However, criticizing de la Vigne's assumption, the researchers fail to note that Froissart did not use the term *plançon à picot* but the name *plançon*.

According to C. Blair, it is difficult to say what exactly the *goedendag* looked like. Undoubtedly, it had an iron head, and was adapted for use as a cutting weapon and equipped with a rear iron fluke at the end of the shaft. C. Blair claims that it is reasonable to assume that the *goedendag* was a hafted plowshare-like blade²⁶. The latter opinion clearly resembles the point of view expressed by Ch. Buttin²⁷. C. Blair believes that *plançon à picot* was another kind of weapon, corresponding to the arms represented in the paintings in Ghent²⁸. H. Seitz, is also doubtful about the term *goedendag*. He and a group of other researchers believe that the weapon might have been a specific type of battle-axe²⁹. According to this author, who using the proportions from the Oxford chest relief,

estimates its approximate length at 1 m, the spiked club may safely be referred to as *plançon à picot*³⁰.

G.C. Stone³¹ and subsequently E. Oakeshott argue that the *goedendag* is an early form of a halberd³². The latter is in favour of the opinion that the wooden club 1.5 m in length with a broad end equipped with a steel head and a strengthening ferrule is to be referred to as *plançon à picot*³³.

In the light of the aforementioned rhymed chronicle by Guiart, all the above doubts regarding the identification of the *goedendag* prove groundless. Line 5428 provides a detailed description of this weapon. Guiart's relation reads (a free translation), "With great heavy ironed staves, having a long sharp iron projecting, they (The Flemish) go to meet the French, such a staff, which they carry in war, is named Godendac in their country. Godendac that is to say Good-day, if one would express it in French. This staff is long and well contrived, made for striking with two hands. And when it is used for a crushing stroke, if he who strikes understands it and knows how to work well therewith, quickly he may recover his blow and strike, without any jest, with the projecting end forward, stabbing his enemy in the belly; and the iron is sharp that enters easily and straight forward into all places in which it may be thrust, if armour does not resist it"³⁴. This record has already been noticed by J. Moens, who in his study into the arms in question argues that the *goedendag* is a massive weapon held in both hands and used by warriors of great physical strength while *plançon à picot* is smaller. They are both wooden clubs equipped with an iron head and a strengthening ferrule³⁵.

J. Moens' description of *goedendags* and *plançons à picotes* is of great interest to students of arms. The weapon found near Termonde during works conducted on the flood defences on the Escaut River exactly corresponds to the definition offered by Guillaume Guiart. The find is a 40 cm long piece of a large, heavy steel-mounted club (Fig. 2:b). It has

²¹ J. van Malderghem, *La verte sur le goedendag*, *Annales de la Société d'Archeologie de Bruxelles*, 1895, vol. 9, p. 323.

²² J-Th. Raadt, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

²⁵ Ch. Buttin, *La Fourche de guerre (XV). Le Plançon à picot et le plançon à broche ou chandelier (XVI). Le Goedendag (XVII)*, "Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Musée de l'Armée", vol. 49, December 1938, p. 201 (The authors would like to thank Annette Saemann for permission to use this publication).

²⁶ C. Blair, *European & American Arms*, New York, 1962, p. 25.

²⁷ Ch. Buttin, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 208.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

²⁹ H. Seitz, *Blankwaffen I*, Braunschweig, 1965, pp. 240–241.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 401, fig. 307.

³¹ G. C. Stone, 1999 (1935), *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armour*, New York, p. 248.

³² E. Oakeshott, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

³⁴ J. Moens, *Goedendag et plançon à picot. D'après Guillaume Guiart*, "Annales de la Société d'Archeologie de Bruxelles", 1900 vol. 14, p. 5; Ch. Foulkes, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

³⁵ J. Moens, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

a massive ferrule, 6 cm long and 4.5 cm in diameter at the top of the shank, which is 15 cm in length and 3.7 cm in diameter. The pointed head fixed inside the ferrule is 24.8 cm long without the tang. It was attached to the shaft by a rivet. However, the edges of this tetragonal in cross-section, were not sharp enough to be used for striking cutting blows³⁶ while according to the arms and armour researchers quoted above, the *goedendag* could be used in this way.

A very similar *goedendag* was found outside Flanders in Hammerberg near Kr Lahn-Dill, Hessen (Fig. 2:d)³⁷. This weapon slightly differs from the specimen discussed above. It consists of a long steel head, triangular in diameter, securely fixed to the shaft by a tang with a notched and grinded surface. The spike is placed in a separate socket, in which the organic remains of a wooden shaft are still to be found. The entire length of the weapon is 50.2 cm³⁸.

J. Moens mentions another example of a related weapon, coming from Termonde. It is, however, smaller than the Hammerberg find (Fig. 2:c). The entire length of the object is 19 cm. The ferrule is 3.5 cm long and 5.8 cm in diameter at the base of the head³⁹. Nonetheless, the distinction between the larger *goedendags* and smaller *plançons à picotes* made by J. Moens seems to be rather artificial and the close structural similarities suggest that these terms may be used interchangeably.

In addition, Ch. Buttin makes a distinction between *goedendags*, which according to the researcher were an unidentified type of weapon equipped with heavy blades used for striking-cutting blows, *plançons à picotes* and *plançons à broches*, a larger variation on the latter. The term *plançons à broches*, however, is only once mentioned in a single record of 1417, where arms of this type are listed as banned in the town of Lille⁴⁰. Generally speaking, it can be assumed that in order to support his hypothesis about the distinction between the *goedendag* and *plançon à picot*, Ch. Buttin treats the two terms found in rhymed

chronicles, using purposefully baroque expressions, too strictly and accurately.

Iconographic representations of the weapon in question as well as the finds themselves are scarce, which would suggest that the arms were in use for a short period of time in a limited area and were never popular. K. de Vries⁴¹ is also in favour of this hypothesis. The researcher argues that *goedendags* must have been used only in Flanders. D. Nicolle quotes an example of a representation of such a weapon in an illuminated fourteenth century codex held at the British Library⁴². This author provides another illustration of a *goedendag*, coming from the Flemish handwritten copy of 1321 with the title *Grands Chroniques de la France*⁴³. However, neither illuminated manuscripts nor ancient table paintings can be considered convincing evidence of the use of a given type of weapon in a certain area. For example, a Flemish artist could have employed the traditional convention while working abroad.

A representation of a *goedendag* coming from Silesia seems to be a more reliable source of information as it is neither artistic nor decorative in character. It is sculpted in a stone cross referred to as a cross of reconciliation in the most recent scientific literature⁴⁴ (Fig. 3:a). The picture is to be found in the outer wall of St. Hedwig's Church in Niwice, Lwówek Śląski powiat (county), first mentioned in written records in 1300⁴⁵. The village of present-day Niwice is comprised of two neighbouring villages mentioned in fourteenth century records: Newelande (Niwice) and Cunczisdorf (Bartniki) with the church in question.

⁴¹ K. de Vries, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

⁴² D. Nicolle, *op. cit.*, p. 84, fig. 219.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 198, fig. 534.d.

⁴⁴ P. Nocuń, *Zabytki jurysdykcji karnej w późnośredniowiecznym i wczesnonowożytnym Wrocławiu w ujęciu archeologii historycznej (Surviving Penal Jurisdiction Specimens in Late Medieval and Early Postmedieval Wrocław. A Historical Archeological Approach)* [in:] J. Piekalski, K. Wachowski ed., *Wrocław na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych. Materialne przejawy życia codziennego (Wrocław at the End of the Middle Ages and the Beginning of Postmedieval Times. The Material Manifestations of Everyday Life)*, Wrocław 2004, p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Item Cuncendorf LVII mansi posili... ecclesia...*, T. Kozaczewski, *Wiejskie kościoły parafialne XIII wieku na Śląsku (miejscowości A-G)*, [Village Parochial Churches in Silesia in the Thirteenth Century (Villages A-G)], Wrocław 1995, p. 18.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

³⁷ G. Striffler, *Dillenburgh-Niederschled, (Lahn-Dill-Kreis)*, *Fundberichte aus Hessen*, 1998 yearbook 26, p. 502.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 502, fig. 215.4.

³⁹ J. Moens, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ Ch. Buttin, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

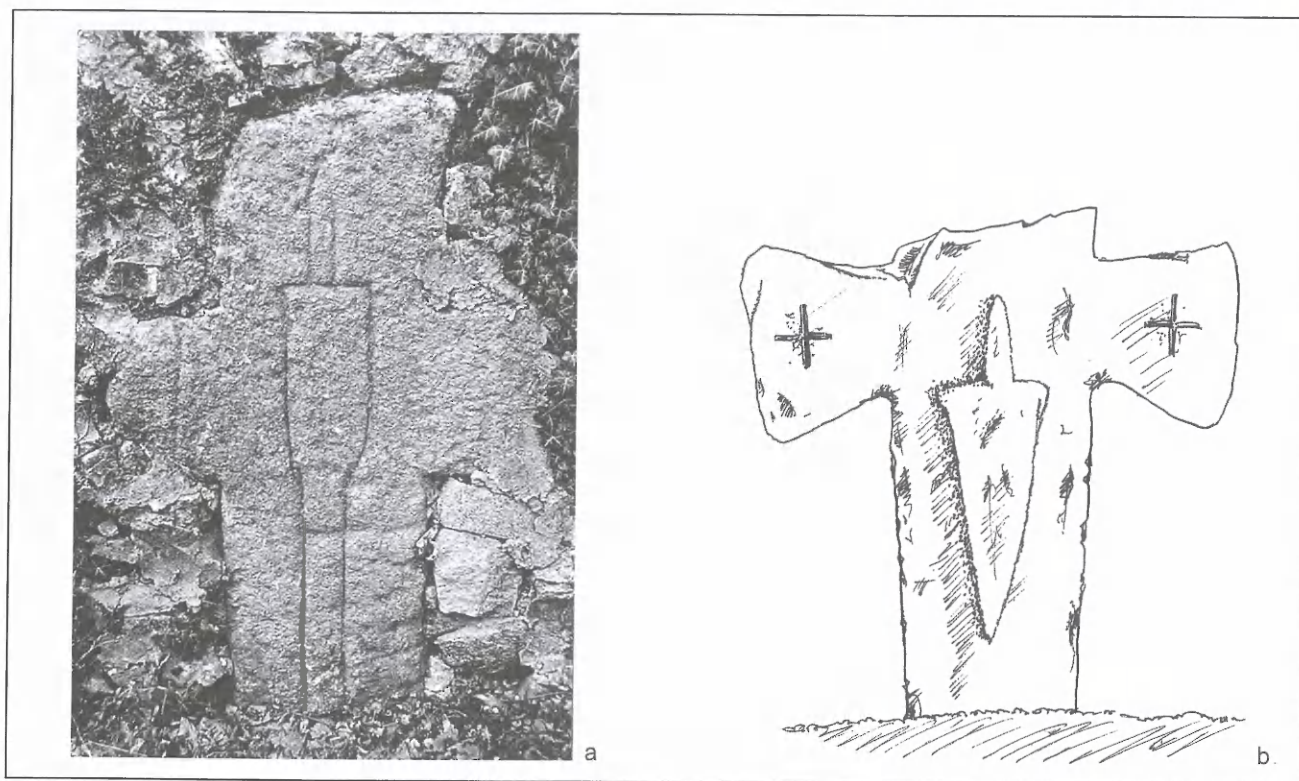


Fig. 3. a — stone cross, St Hedwig's Church at Niwice, Lwówek Śląski powiat (county). Photo by D. Wojtucki; b — stone cross, the collection of lapidary art in Carcassonne Castle. Drawing by R. Heś.

The cross remained unknown to German researchers before World War II and was discovered by Artur Kwaśniewski, Wrocław, on August 7th 1986⁴⁶.

The relief shows a widening club with a spike on the end. Despite the schematic character of the drawing, the representation contains a single detail betraying the weapon's Flemish origin: the border between the steel strengthening ferrule and the wooden shank. The proportions of particular parts of the weapon depicted correspond to those of real surviving *goedendags*. The head of the weapon from Niwice is 19 cm in length and its measurements resemble those of the above mentioned Termonde find. Regrettably, the cross is damaged at the base and the entire length of the object remains unknown. The size of the shaft, which is 6 cm in diameter at the base, resembles that of the other finds.

Advances in the study of archaeological and law-related late medieval relics have resulted in the identification of numerous reliefs made in stone crosses which exactly correspond to some

surviving contemporary tools and weapons⁴⁷. The measurements of the arms represented in the reliefs are strikingly similar to the proportions of the related archaeological finds, which can be observed, for example, in the case of crosses from Milików, near Nowogrodziec and Mściszew, near Lwówek Śląski.

The village of Nowice, situated in the vicinity of Lwówek Śląski, lied in the region of the most isolated thirteenth century German and Flemish settlements in Silesia⁴⁸. According to F. Schilling, only the villages in the vicinity of Bartniki (Cunzendorf unter dem Walde) could be considered early German settlements in the area. The settlement of this region might go back to the thirteenth century⁴⁹. It was probably Bishop Walter who introduced Flemish and Walloon people into Silesia as early as the twelfth century⁵⁰. In

⁴⁷ *Das Spätmittelalterliche Steinkreuz eines Holzfällers/Holzhauers/Zimmermanns bei Hesselbach, Gemeinde Hesseneck im Odenwaldkreis, um 1500*, Der Odenwald, 2005, p. 66.

⁴⁸ B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy (Henry the Bearded and his Times)*, Warszawa 1975, p. 179.

⁴⁹ F. Schelling, *Ursprung und Frühzeit des Deutschlands in Schlesien und Land Leubus*, Leipzig 1938.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

⁴⁶ A. Scheer, *Krzyże pokutne koło Lwówka Śl. (Penance Crosses near Lwówek Śl.)*, "Przydrożne Pomniki Przeszłości", December 1986, p. 6.

Wrocław, the Flemish settlement near St. Maurice's Church, probably following the tradition of the diocese of Louvain/Leuven, can be dated to that time too⁵¹. In the records dating back to the turn of the thirteenth century, the Walloon settlement situated in this area was referred to as *Platea Romanorum* or *Gallicorum*⁵².

The earliest tax collected in the medieval quarter of Wrocław, called Walońska (Walloon) Street, recorded as *inter gallicos*, was levied before the year 1302⁵³.

In the time of Henry the Bearded, colonists arriving in the region enjoyed unlimited freedom. They were only obliged to pay the rent and provide the duke with military contingents⁵⁴. The Flemish settlers never failed to meet the latter requirement, which was duly recorded in The Chronicle of the Polish Dukes. In 1312, during Władysław of Legnica's conquest of Brzeg district, the Romance speaking settlers of the villages of Wierzbno and Janików defeated the invading knights and captured Władysław. He and his twenty companions were subsequently handed over to Bolesław, Duke of Brzeg⁵⁵.

The obligation to defend their new land as well as the settlers' great attachment to their traditional weaponry⁵⁶ could have resulted in the appearance of *goedendags* in Silesia. It could be argued very plausibly that the relief visible on the monument at Niwice represents a fatal weapon and the erection of the cross was a consequence of the commission of a crime. However, the relief may also symbolize a representative of the Flemish community. The primary function of the Niwice cross remains a mystery and the representation is difficult to interpret. The structure could also be one of the so-called crosses of reconcilia-

tion, connected with an ancient law operating in Silesia from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century⁵⁷. According to the rule, *kto zabije umyślnie, wedle prawa ma być karany. Kto zabije przygodnie, że jawne to będzie, gardła stracić nie powinien, tylko zapłacić* (The one who kills willingly is to be punished by law. The one who kills accidentally, and this can be proven, ought not to suffer the death penalty but pay a fine)⁵⁸. A murder was tried in accordance with the Salic Law (German *Sühnevertrag*), containing a long list of fines (Latin *compositio*), one of which specified that a stone monument of reconciliation in the form of a cross or a crucifix was to be erected by the culprit. In the court records of Lwówek Śląski several *compositio* agreements of the years 1478, 1489, 1492, 1493 are to be found. The documents refer to the town and neighbouring villages. In 1493, one of them orders the murderer to build a *steyne Krewtze*⁵⁹. However, it has not been established whether the cross at Niwice was erected as a result of the above regulations. The structure could have been built as part of a tomb and the *goedendag* represented in the relief might have been meant to commemorate a dead person or a person of Flemish decent, because the object used to be associated with this minority group. Originally, it might have stood in the area adjacent to the church (at the church cemetery or in front of the gate). It seems highly unlikely that the cross had been moved from a remote part of the village in order to be used as a building material. During subsequent construction works, while erecting or rebuilding the cemetery wall, it did, however, serve as a high quality material. It should only be noted that the builders made the relief depicting the Flemish weapon visible, which was often the case with pieces of masonry reused in later structures.

⁵¹ B. Zientara, *Walonowie na Śląsku w XII i XIII w. (Walloon People in Silesia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)*, Przegląd Historyczny, 1975a, vol. 66, fascicle 3, pp. 353, 356.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 353.

⁵³ *Rechnungen der Stadt Breslau von 1299–1358*, hrsg. C. Grünhagen, *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, Bd. 3, Breslau 1860, pp. 9–10 and 23.

⁵⁴ B. Zientara, 1975, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁵⁵ B. Zientara, 1975a, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

⁵⁶ It is alleged that after the Battle of Courtrai, the Flemish were so proud of themselves for defeating the enemy that one Flemish warrior armed with a *goedendag* would duel two French mounted soldiers (cf.: De Vries 2000, p. 10).

⁵⁷ D. Adamska, P. Nocuń, „CZU TROSTE UND CZU HULFFE DES ZELE”. *Późnośredniowieczne ugody kompozycyjne z terenu Śląska („CZU TROSTE UND CZU HULFFE DES ZELE”). Late Medieval Compositio Agreements from Silesian Territory*), „Sobótka”, No. 2, 2004, pp. 111–112.

⁵⁸ R. Heś, D. Wojtucki, *700 lat najstarszego krzyża pojednania na Śląsku (700 Years of the Oldest Reconciliation Cross in Silesia)*, „Sudety”, No. 12, 2005, p. 14.

⁵⁹ M. Hellmich, *Steinerne Zeugen mittelalterlichen Rechtes in Schlesien. Steinkreuze, Bildstöcke, Staupensäulen, Galgen, Gerichtstische*, Liegnitz 1923, pp. 13–15.

A cross held at the museum of lapidary art at Carcassone Castle as well as over a dozen similar objects were removed from a municipal cemetery. This find can be classified as a tomb object on the basis of its place of origin and characteristics. A representation of a *goedendag* is to be seen on the cross face. Tiny crosses placed on the arms clearly suggest its tomb provenance. Although the top part of the artifact has been damaged, the relief showing the Flemish weapon is easy to notice.

The cultural separation of the Flemish settlers was a short-term phenomenon in Silesia and soon all the newcomers living in the area were thought of as Germans, who were the most numerous group⁶⁰. This conclusion seems helpful to precisely date the cross from Niwice. In our opinion, the find might be tentatively classified as dating back to the fourteenth century. Around the second half of the fourteenth century, in Wrocław, Romance

speaking craftsmen were, to a large extent, Germanized and the Walloon weaver guild as a separate association ceased to exist between 1422 and 1430⁶¹.

It should, however, be noted that according to Ffoulkes's classification⁶², the most recent written record in which the term *guidendars* is mentioned dates from 1530 and its most recent iconographic representation known to the authors can be found in Conrad Laib's painting of 1457. This work is held at Landesmuseum Joanneum in Graz. On the right of the main scene, depicting the Crucifixion, there is an old man holding a club-shaped weapon with a pointed head and ferrule⁶³.

Translated by Zuzanna Poklewska-Parra

⁶⁰ B. Zientara, 1975, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 174, 192.

⁶¹ B. Zientara, 1975a, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

⁶² Ch. Ffoulkes, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁶³ Cf.: www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at